direct, one member from among The members of the House to be a member of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research Society."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE PUNJAB STATE LEGISLATURE (DELEGATION OF POWERS) BILL, 1987

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): Madam, on behalf of the Home Minister, and with your permission, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to confer on the President the power of the Legislature of the State of Punjab to make laws, be taken into consideration."

Madam, the House is aware that the Proclamation dated 11th May, 1987, made by the President under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab *inter alia* provides that the powers of the State Legislature shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament. Under article 357(1)(a) of the Constitution, it is permissible for Parliament to confer on the President the power of the Legislature of the State to make laws, and to authorise the President to delegate, subject to such conditions as he may think fit to impose, the power so conferred to any other authority to be specified by him in that behalf.

The Bill, therefore, seeks to confer on the President the power of the State Legislature to make laws in respect of the State. It has been the normal practice to make such legislations in relation to a State under President's Rule. The present Bill is on the usual lines.

[**The Vice-Chairman (Shri Jagesh Desai)** in the Chair.]

Provision has been made in the Bill for the constitution of a Consultative Committee consisting of 45 Members of Parliament, 30 Members from the Lok Sabha and 15 from the Rajya Sabha in this regard. Provision has also been made to empower Parliament to make modifications in the laws made by the President if considered necessary. I request the hon. House to approve the legislative proposal before it.

The question was proposed.

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this Bill is intended to confer the power on the President to make laws for the State of Punjab on behalf of the State Legislature. The Bill also seeks to constitute a Parliamentary Consultative Committee of both the Houses to look into such legislations. Before we take into consideration this Bill we have to consider the circumstances which led to the moving of such a Bill on the floor of the House. The hon. Minister has said that this Bill may be regarded as of a normal character. I do agree that this Bill is very small, but it is not such a simple Bill. It contains many serious issues and questions. When we consider such a Bill to confer the power on the President to make laws on behalf of the State of Punjab, naturally, the question arises as to what happens to the democratically-elected Legislature of Punjab and the democratically-elected Government of Punjab. Under what circumstances, both these bodies are not functioning?

Sir, everybody knows that the democratically-elected Government of Shri Barnala was dismissed by the President on the 11th May of this year and the democratically elected Legislature was kept under suspended

animation. At that time, the Prime Minister as well as the Home Minister stated that Mr. Barnala's Government was dismissed because it miserably failed to maintain law and order in the State and the action of the Union Government was to restore order in the State of Punjab. But you cannot befool the people by such statements. Everybody knows, everybody with an average commonsense knows, the action was taken with an eye on the majority voters of Haryana. Everybody knows, the action was taken on the eve of the Haryana elections. But fortunately or unfortunately you have been thoroughly defeated by the people in Haryana even in the face of this political gimmick. Sir, it was another glaring example of ruling party's narrow political, partisan attitude towards national problems. You approach these problems in the narrow, political interests of the ruling party. Now it has been undoubtedly established that you have committed a political blunder, rather a political crime on the people of Punjab — not only on the people of Punjab but on the people of the whole country. When you dismissed the Barnala Ministry, it was claimed that you would restore law and order in that State, which had deteriorated miserably. My charge is that still you are considering the Punjab problem from the law and order angle alone. You consider that one Ray or Rebeiro may be able to solve the problem with the help of the police or military. But now it has been proved that after dismissal of Barnala Government, things have not improved. I do not want to list all that is happening in Punjab, the various atrocious incidents that have taken place in the last three months. Not only is terrorism escalating in Punjab, but in the neighbouring States such as Haryana, Himachal Pradesh or even in Delhi people are in the grip of fear. The parents are even afraid of sending their children to schools. This is what is happening and this is the present situation prevailing in this country. The whole country is in the grip of fear. Not only in Delhi, but in the southernmost tip of this land — even in Kerala — in some schools the authorities have got letters threatening to kidnap children from the schools. Even comparatively peaceful States like Kerala and Tamil Nadu, which are far away from the capital or Punjab, are in the grip of fear. What has been the approach of the Central Government towards this? You are still continuing to follow a policy of drift and are thus playing into the hands of extremists, separatists and terrorists. The whole country, as you know, supported the Punjab Accord signed between late Sant Longowal and our Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. People supported that Accord because it would help in isolating the extremists and defeating the game of separatists. The people of Punjab gave their unstinted support through their verdict in the elections then conducted in Punjab immediately after the Accord. Actually after the martyrdom of Sant Longowal it was a golden chance for the Governmnet to implement the Accord and to isolate the terrorists from the people politically. But you have missed that golden chance. Nothing has been done so far to implement the Longowal-Rajiv Accord, because the Congress (I) has kept narrow, political, partisan considerations uppermost in their mind instead of keeping the fight against the divisive and separtist forces in this country in mind. I do agree that there were some serious charges against the Barnala Ministry, especially against some of his colleagues, that they were trying to shield the terrosits and separatists. But at the same time we have to take into consideration the important role played by Mr. Barnala even in the face of all these things. It was Mr. Barnala who had shown the courage to defy the Hukamnama of the Sikh Priests which was meant to remove him from the chiefministership at the

[Shri K. Mohanan]

behest of the extremists. Sir, that is why I say that your action was in effect in favour of the extremists and a political crime against the whole country. Now there is a political vacuum in Punjab and it is, by all means, favourable to the separatists, the extremists and their imperialist bosses. In this regard, Sir, I would like to quote from the "India Today" issue of 31st July:

> "For all its faults, the representative Barnala Government had stationed committed cadres in towns and villages who would stand as buffers"—not Bofors — "and attract anti-terrorist sentiment towards their side in the battle for the hearts and minds of the uncommitted or moderate Sikhs that was being waged between Barnala and the extremists. Even more important, Barnala's politicians could intervene on behalf of the people who said they were being unjustly harassed by the police. It is, of course, true that some of the politicians were, in fact, protecting the terrorists and interfering with the police work, but the relevant point today is that a channel for redressing grievances has been blocked."

This is the problem that we are facing now in Punjab by dismissing a democratically elected Government. Anybody who has an impartial approach or a reasonable approach or a sensible approach to the present situation in Punjab would come to such a conclusion. That is why I have quoted this from a leading magazine in our country.

Sir, I have already mentioned that a Ray or a Ribeiro cannot solve the problem of Punjab. Only the people and their will, their unity and their political awareness is the answer to the situation.

In Punjab, Sir, I am proud to say, recently the two Communist parties have started a campaign against the extremists and separatists. The campaign had its tremendous impact not only among the people of Punjab but the whole of this country, throughout this country.

Sir, in this context, I would like to draw the attention of this august House to a historic event which took place in my State of Kerala the day before yesterday, on the 15th of August, the Independence Day. In the history of India we have never witnessed such a mobilisation of people for the unity and integrity of this country with great enthusiasm. It was a programme sponsored by the Democratic Youth Federation of India. From one end to the other end of the State for some 673 km. people had formed a human chain, and they took a pledge that they would defeat the divisive and separatist and imperialist forces, those which are trying to destabilise this country. More than 10 lakhs of people had participated. Our anticipation was seven lakhs or so. It was a human chain, a human wall from one end to the other end of the State, and the people from all walks of life, without any political consideration, without any religious consideration, participated in that. Unfortunately, Sir, the ruling Congress (I) Party and their allies boycotted it. But, their followers in thousands and thousands participated in that. Do you know, the Congress (I)'s main ally in Kerala, the Muslim League, its representatives, its MLAs are here to join the Babri Masjid march in Delhi, but they never joined the historic event in which lakhs and lakhs of people had gathered and formed a human chain from one end to the other end of the State to take the pledge to safeguard the interests of the country the integrity and unity of the country. Sir, this is mass agitation. Such an enthusiasm was created in

my State. This is mass political action. What are you doing in this direction?

I am sorry to say, Sir, that not even a single second was spared by the All-India Radio and the Doordarshan to cover this on the national hook-up. This is your approach.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please conclude now.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: Yes, Sir.

I am sorry, and with anger I am saying, this is your approach, this is your narrow, political, partisan approach to the national problems.

Sir, my point is that mere administrative, law-and-order orders will not solve the problem of Punjab. The people and their awareness only create such a situation. So, Sir, I request the Government. We have to restore our link with the people. A democratically elected Government is definitely pivotal in that. So, I demand, the Government should restore the Barnala Government and allow the people of Punjab to rule that State at their will and in a democratic manner.

With these words, I conclude, Sir.

Thank you.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, valour and enterprising spirit are the two basic characteristics of any Punjabi. The patriotic soldier, fired by the zeal to die for the motherland, stands up as an eternal guardian on the borders to preserve the honour of the nation, while the hard working farmer toils day in and day out to help the nation maintain self-suffiincy in food. Joyous, robust and boisterous, that is the image of a Punjabi and that is the awe with whih a Punjabi is looked at. But unfortunately for over five years now, Punjab has faced and become the direct victim of the onslaught of the vicious attack launched by hostile foreign powers who were unnerved by India's proud strides in the comity of nations. Our immense capacity to pull together and preserve the nation's unity and integrity despite manifold diversities has always confounded our detractors. Not relenting, they have reinforced their activities against the country in the recent past. A direct manifestation of this is the terrorism that has now acquired manifold proportions in our country, particularly in the Punjab State.

Sir, the shattering effect of the terrorism on Punjab has been very deep and profound. No statistics are required to prove that Punjab has become a virtual hunting ground for the terrorists. The land of Punjab known for its hospitality, mutual love and affection is now a place dreaded by peace-loving citizens.

Sir, it has been proved abundantly that Pakistan is presently training the terrorists and sending them across the border to indulge in acts of violence here. Pakistan is not acting just on its own. Contrary to their protestations, the Governments of U.S.A., Canada and Britain have done litle to check the planning and execution of the expanding activities hostile to India on their lands.

Sir, the hon. Member speaking before me referred to the Punjab Accord to allege that it is the Congress which is responsible for the present mess in which Punjab finds itself. The accusation does not surprise me but it does make me feel sorry because for the last so many years the allegation is being levelled against us *ad nauseam* in the hope that repetition of untruth again and again would perhaps make it sound true.

[Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal—Cont.]

Sir, if you permit me, I will briefly recall some past events. It was at the initiative of the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi that the Punjab Accord was signed. But when the other signatory to the Punjab Accord, that is, Harchand Singh Longowal in pursuance of the Accord, called off the morcha, he was not spared and was gunned down by the bullets emanating from the gun of his co-religionist in the holy precincts of a Gurdwara. That was the scant respect those self-proclaimed protectors of dharma showed for their religion. They threw to winds the teachings of the glorious traditions of the Sikh gurus and Sikhism. Nevertheless, Sir, in the following elections, the people of Punjab turned out in unprecedented numbers to vote for democracy, to vote for a system which is the corner-stone of our polity and a democratically elected Government was installed in the State with the hope that under the leadership of Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala it would endeavour to curb terrorism in the State, that it would grapple with the situation and ensure that the State once again marches on the path of peace, progress and prosperity. But, Sir, the internal differences within the Akali Dal soon came to the forefront. There was a vertical split in the party, not on the basis of any ideology or any commitment but inspired solely by the greed to grab power. It was this unsavoury development in the State which gave a rude shock to every Punjabi and once again, we found that in their self-interest, the two waring groups came to acquire extremist postures. They forgot that the popular vote of the people was in their favour and that the people of the State were looking forward to an environment of peace where a common citizen could pursue his daily chores without the danger of terrorism looming large over his head. But, Sir, it was their internecine war which again gave an impetus to those anti-national forces which were snubbed by the people of Punjab. It encouraged those people again who could not muster any strength during the elections and who had failed miserably in their call of boycotting the elections. Sir, we saw that once again an unabated killing spree created panic in the State and people of one community started moving out. This was, perhaps, in accordance with the terrorist plans for they expected backlash that could create disturbances and chaos all over the country. The timely action by the Central Government and various other State Governments warded off such an unsavoury situation.

The Central Government did its best to provide all the needed support to the Barnala Government whatever be the accusations otherwise because it was in keeping with our traditions that the Centre wanted peace to return to the State. However, when it was proved beyond doubt that the Akali Government lacked the political will to deal with the situation and that various Ministers in the Akali Government were not paying heed to what the Chief Minister was saying and in fact, by their overt and covert acts were helping the terrorists and other anti-social elements to create chaos in the State which had its ramifications in other parts of the country also, the Centre had to, once again, take an unpleasant decision of promulgating President's rule in the State. When we had a discussion on the promulgation of President's rule, perhaps on the penultimate day of the last Session, the hon. Home Minister very rightly pointed out that the decision was not to the liking of the Centre. The decision was not taken with an eye on the Haryana elections, because the past had, in fact, proved that the Congress was not motivated by such considerations of self-promotion when

the Akalis came to power in Punjab. We did not know then as to what would be the forces arraigned against us, which would be the elements, that would be getting together to fight the Centre, to fight the peace-loving citizens of the country. It was only in the discharge of the sacred responsibility that vests with the Centre, the responsibility which the Constitution enjoins upon the Centre to ensure that it protects the State against exernal aggression and internal disturbances and that the Government of every State is carried on in accordance with the powers enshrined in the Constitution, that the Centre had so acted. It was with respect to these constitutional provisions that President's rule was promulgated in the State and the present Bill is just a consequential follow-up action of that move.

We in Punjab Sir, do feel sad to see that the State continues to reel under terrorist violence, that as a result thereof, various constitutional provisions have to be suspended, he democratically elected Government and the Assembly have to be put in a state of suspended animation and that the State has to be governed from the Centre. But we also do realize that the Punjab problem today is not confined to the Punjabis alone. Having acquired the menacing proportions that it has in the recent past, it has, in fact, become a national problem. And to tackle a national problem, all the peace-loving forces of the country have to get together, work shoulder-to-shoulder, pool their efforts and then devise means to see that peace and normalcy returns to the State. Sir, this is not the time for us to make charges. This is not the time for us to indulge in any sort of acrimony. If we were to have an honest introspection, we could find that, perhaps, each one of us was found wanting in our duties at one place, at one time or the other. I was, in fact, pained to hear my honourable colleague from the opposition. Benches again levelling all sorts of reckless allegations against the Congress little realising that wherever there is a setback to the democratic functioning in the States, its direct effect is that additional burden falls on the Centre.

The Rajiv Gandhi Government is committed to the principles of democracy, to the principles of a participatory, thriving, democracy and Shri Rajiv Gandhi has always tried to endeavour that each citizen of the country enjoys the fruits, enjoys the benefits of independence, enjoys the fruits of democracy. As I said, it was with a heavy heart that a decision was taken to impose President's rule in our State. But it would not be just to say that the Centre has failed in the implementation of the Punjab Accord or has dragged its feet in the implementation of the said Accord. I hope the honourable Minister would refer to each clause but we all know that the Centre has worked overtime to provide, on our asking, all the needed help whenever the occasion arose. Recently we were going through the pangs of shortage of power in our State and immediately, on the Prime Minister's intervention, for the first time, more power than the share from the Central projects, was allotted to Punjab. I understand that the Centre is also working for an economic package for the State of Punjab. Unfortunately these are not the demands, these are not the things, which the terrorists want for Punjab. Not once in their demands have we ever heard them asking for any project or for the setting up of any big industry in the State of Punjab. There is, in fact, no demand excepting the rabid demand of Khalistan which, I am sure, no Indian can concede. We cannot compromise on our principles, we can not compromise with the attainment of the lofty goals which our founding fathers set for us. We have to work to find a mutual solution

(Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal)

to the problem that Punjab faces. I would agree that the problem in Punjab today is not only a law and order problem. It is a political problem as well. But we have got to see the priorities. Today the first priority of the State is to stamp out terrorism that stalks the State. Incidents like the massacre of bus passengers last month shocked the entire nation, shocked humanity as such, and we find such senseless killings going on unabated in the State. The first priority is, therefore, to grapple with the situation created by the terrorists and I have no doubt that the Centre, with all its determination, would meet the challenge, would meet the challenge boldly. And it is only after that, as the Prime Minister has said, that one could think of talking to various people, who have the interests of Punjab close to their heart, to come and work out a negotiated settlement of some demands. But till that is done, I hope all sections of this House, all sections of people in the country, do provide the necessary support to the Government in meeting the challenge which, as I said earlier, is now a challenge to the entire nation. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Now, Mr. Valampuri John.

SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this Bill, as Mr. Bansal has rightly said, is only a consequential action to the President's Rule in Punjab as it is only seeking legislative sanction...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): You have got eight minutes and within eight minutes you can finish your speech.

SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN: ..... for conferring powers on the President to make laws for the welfare of the people of Punjab. We have nothing to oppose in this Bill. But this Bill provides an opportunity to us to think aloud on the deteriorating situation in Punjab.

Last time, in the last session, in the month of May, when the President's Rule was imposed, we asked a very pertinent question and there was no answer then. Sir, I would like to repeat the same question even today because it has got so much relevance, it is much more relevant, in the deteriorating situation in the State of Punjab. We asked that question then and we will keep on asking this question because day by day the situation is worsening in Punjab and this question gets all the relevance materially. We said: "You are charging the Barnala Government and you say that this Barnala Government is not capable of combating terrorism and because you find that the Barnala Government is not capable of combating terrorism, you are dismissing this Government. This is the only charge." A popularly-elected Government of Barnala stands in the way of solving this crisis, of solving this problem, of combating terrorism. You said, "Since we find it incapable of solving the crisis, of combating terrorism, we are removing the Barnala Government." Of course, we stand by this Government in all its positive steps for combating terrorism. We are convinced that there is no justification for terrorism. There is no justification for terrorism. At least, in violence I can display the spirit of valour, but in terrorism I only display cowardice. So, this hydra-headed monster should be buried fathoms deep and we have no second opinion on it. We stand by this Government in all its efforts and we stand by this Government when it takes certain measures, certain steps, to combat terrorism and to bring normalcy in the law and order situation in the State of Punjab. But this kind of a dismissal of the popularly-elected Government is an extreme

step and this is another kind of terrorist method. I do not call this Government a terrorist Government, but this method smacks of terrorism because a popularly-elected Government has been dismissed there. Then we asked this pertinent question: "Suppose you dismiss the Barnala Government on this basis that this Government is dismissed because it is incapable of combating terrorism and the reins of administration come into our hands from this moment and suppose in the next two months or six months the Union Government finds that it is unable to combat the terrorism that we were confronted with. Will you then get yourself dismissed?". This is what we asked. We asked this question because what is sacred for one should be sacred for the other also. But what we find today is that the honourable Minister is comparatively analysing and I know that he will be giving statistics and making a statistical jugglery. If he has statistics to prove what he says, let him place them on the Table of the House. Let him give statistics as to how many people have been killed during Barnala's period and how many people have been killed when the reins of administration came into the hands of the Union Government. Let him give the comparative analysis. When you have said that you dismissed the Barnala Government because it was incapable of combating terrorism, the whole world will ask you now whether you have been able to combat terrorism and when you are not capable of combating terrorism, you yourself can be dismissed. Mr. Bansal was explaining that there was a split in the party. We know for certain that in any democratic party this is possible, this is something which is unavodable. Even in the Congress Party, from the days of the nationalist movement, from the pre-Independence days, there have been differences of opinion and in any democratic party this is bound to occur and this is quite possible in a deteriorating situation like this. This has been there in the Congress Party from the pre-Independence days and because this is a movement, it seems to be a kind of conglomeration of all shades of opinion and it is bound to be there and in any democratic party this is the only outcome. It is a basic and necessary postulate. But the question is this: Because in the Akali Party there had been divisions, can Mr. Bansal rise and say that only because of this division it became incapable of combating terrorism and because of that the popularly-elected Government was dismissed? When you dismissed the popularly-elected Government there, you not only estranged a section of the Akali Party, but you also estranged the bulk of the Punjabi population, the Punjabi people, who have stood by Mr. Barnala. They had elected a Government. The people of Punjab had elected a Government. You have dismissed that Government. You have estranged the bulk of the population. You have estranged a major portion of the population of Punjab. Now, how do you expect to solve this problem? A major section of the people is not with you. As a journalist I have visited Punjab twice. I met people there. I am referring not only to the news items. As a journalist I have done this kind of *pada yatra* twice. I have met the people there. Do you know what people say there? Earlier there were a few people who were against the Government and these people were fighting the terrorists. Lately, the rank and file of terrorists has swelled because the popularly elected Government was not allowed to function. What applies to them applies to you also. If you think that a popularly elected Government stands in the way of combating corruption or combating terrorism anywhere in India, then the same thing applies to you also. You make a claim that there is a massive mandate for you. Now, can you say that a popularly elected Government stands in the way of combating terrorism or solving the problems the country faces today? There are hundreds of charges from the United Akali Party. They have been charging for the last two or three months that there are fake encounters.

[Shri Valampuri John]

They have demanded that a judicial inquiry should be instituted. A terrorist may be an animal. Still there is a man in him. If you treat all the terrorists and the youths in Punjab who have been misled as animals and think that there is no alternative to getting them shot, it will not lessen the problem. You cannot solve the problem this way. This policy is not going to solve the problem in Punjab. Amrinder Singh and the United Akali Dal has demanded 6 or 7 times and asked the Governor, Shri Siddharata Shankar Ray, that there should be a judicial inquiry into fake encounters. Unless you institute an inquiry to find out whether the charges are false or true, it will come in the way of solving this problem. What I would like to say is that a Government which has brought normal life, law and order and peace in a far flung strife-torn island like Sri Lanka, should not find it difficult or an uphill task to restore peace and law and order in Punjab. When they have done it in Sri Lanka and the people are happy there, it should be possible for them to do it in one of the provinces of India. But the Government lacks the political will. This problem cannot be solved by shooting down the terrorists. Terrorists may be killed, but terrorism will continue. So the Government should not lag behind in political will. They should take up the earliest opportunity. A democratically elected Government should function there. If the Government say that they cannot start a dialogue unless the terrorists put down arms, then it will not be proper. We shall pay any price; meet any hardship; support any friend; oppose any foe for the successful survival of freedom, democracy and orderly life in Punjab. The Government should go in for a dialogue without standing on prestige, The terrorist may be an animal, but there is a man in them. If you say that unless they surrender arms, you cannot talk to them, this will be standing on false prestige. The Government should explore 101 ways of finding a solution. I think the Government should be prepared to pay any kind of price. In stead of standing on higher elevated pedestal, they should come down and talk to them. A terrorist may be an animal, even then there is a man in him. The sensibility of the man should never be forgotten in solving such kind of terrorist problem in this country. Thank you.

1.00 P.M.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जो हमारे गृह राज्य मंत्री जी ने प्रस्ताव दिया है कि राष्ट्रपति को पंजाब राज्य के विधान मंडल की विधि बनाने क शक्ति प्रदान करने वाले विधेयक पर विचार किया जाए, उस सन्दर्भ में अपने विनम्र सुझाव इस माननीय सदन के समक्ष प्रस्तुत कर रहा हूं।

अहिंसा के पुजारी अशोक, बुद्ध और गांधी ज रहे हैं उनमें से स्वतंत्रता के बाद चाहे नोआखली के परिणाम स्वरूप इस देश में गांधी ज की हत्या हुई हो या ब्लू स्टार एक्शन के बाद विश्व मानवता की संरक्षक इन्दिरा गांधी की हत्या हुई हो या संसद सदस्य विश्वनाथ तिवारी, लाला जगत नारायण, हमारी भारतीय जनता पार्टी, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी या अन्य दलों के लोगों की हत्या हुई हो, इन सब के मूल में पंजाब का आतंकवाद रहा है। एक दिन में यह चीज नहीं आयी। लगभग 76–77 में दिल्ली की दीवारों पर 'राज करेगा खालसा' लिखा हुआ दिखाई पड़ता था। उस समय गम्भीरता से हमने इस चीज को नहीं लिया और आते-आते सिख स्टुडेंट्स फैडरेशन के नाम पर और अन्य संगठनों के नाम पर, चाहे सत्ता हासिल करने के लिए यह किया गया हो, चाहे विदेश में ट्रेनिंग पाने वाले लोग जो खालिस्तान का सपना इस देश में देखते हैं उनके इशारे पर किया गया हो या पाकिस्तान में ट्रेनिंग लेकर आये हुए आतंकवादी हों, इन सब ने जो कुछ किया है वह भारत माता के मस्तक पर भारत की जनता के रक्त का तिलक लगाया है।

बरनाला सरकार को कांग्रेस ने और सभी दलों ने सामूहिक रूप से उनकी हिम्मत बढ़ाने के लिए, उनका मनोबल दृढ़ करने के लिए बधाइयां दीं लेकिन जब वह सरकार आतंकवाद का मकाबला करने में असफल हुई तो विवश होकर राष्ट्रपति शासन वहां पर लागू करना पड़ा और निर्विवाद रूप से हम यह मानने को तैयार नहीं हैं कि आतंकवाद खत्म हो गया है, कम जरूर हुआ है। आज चाहे बस में यात्रियों का, भोले भाले यात्रियों का खून बहता हो या इन्दिरा गांधी का खून बहाया हो, लहू का रंग एक ही होता है। धूएं का रंग एक ही होता है चाहे चिता का हो और चाहे हवन का धुआं हो, एक ही रंग उसक होता है और लहू का रंग भी एक ही होता है चाहे गरीब का हो या अमीर का। एक भी व्यक्ति का रक्त प्रवाहित होता है इस धरती पर, धर्म के नाम पर, सम्प्रदाय के नाम पर तो अच्छी बात नहीं है। हमारी सरकार ने बराबर कोशिश की है कि आतंकवाद को मिटाया जाये। इस देश में पंजाब की मानसिकता को बदलने की जरूरत है। इन्दिरा गांधी के हत्यारे की पत्नी चुनाव लड़ती है और ट्राइंगुलर फाइट में उसे 400–500 वोट कम मिलते हैं तभी वह विधान सभा की सदस्य नहीं हो पाती है। इस मानसिकता को बदलने के लिए केवल कांग्रेस की सरकार या राष्ट्रपति जी या प्रधान मंत्री जी जो चाहे वह नहीं कर सकते हैं। आज सारे देश को समस्त राजनीतिक दलों को, समस्त जो अध्यात्म के प्रतीक पुरुष हैं चाहे किसी धर्म, सम्प्रदाय, मजहब और कौम के हों उन सबको मिल जुल कर, बैठ कर इस पंजाब के आतंकवाद की समाप्ति के लिए सोचना होगा।

एक ओर बुलेट भर कर निहत्थे लोगों पर आक्रमण हो रहा है दूसरी ओर हमारी सर्वोच्च संसद में मैम्बर्स बहस कर रहे हों। शांति यात्राएं बहुत से लोगों ने की हो लेकिन जब तक हम डट कर मुकाबला नहीं करेंगे तब तक कुछ होने वाला नहीं है। हमें अपनी सीमा के जो बार्डर हैं उनको पूरी तरह से सील करना होगा। मुझे यह कहने में संकोच नहीं है कि बहुत से पंजाब के पुलिस के लोग इनफार्मर रूप में काम करते रहे पिछली सरकार में। वे लोग आतंकवादियों से मिले हुए थे। ऐसे लोगों को हमारे गृह मंत्री जी को, राष्ट्रपति जी को चाहिए कि नौकरी से निकालें और उनके स्थान नए लोगों से भरे जाने चाहिए। पुलिस में रह कर के आतंकवादियों का साथ देने वाले लोग रहे हैं इस तरह की रिपोर्टें आयी हैं। इन चीजों पर हमें कड़ाई से ध्यान देना होगा। हमारी सरकार का जनतंत्र में विश्वास है। और उस जनतंत्र की रक्षा के लिए सब कुछ किया गया है। इसमें चाहे हम हारे या जीते। पंजाब का जो समझौता हुआ उस समझौते के बाद बरनाला सरकार पावर में आई और पूरी चेष्टा के साथ जनतंत्र के मूल्यों की रक्षा के लिए हम ने जब भी बरनाला सरकार ने सहायता मांगी, उसको आतंकवाद का मुकाबला करने के लिए सहायता दी। लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी जब उन्हें सफलता नहीं मिली और वे एक तरह से काबिल साबित नहीं हुए आतंकवाद को रोकने के लिए, तब हमें विवश होकर यह प्रस्ताव लाना पड़ा, राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करना पड़ा। इस प्रस्ताव में मन्तव्य दिया गया है, कहा गया है कि 30 लोक सभा के और 15 राज्य सभा के सदस्य होंगे और समय समय पर राष्ट्रपति जी उनके परामर्श से जिन आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति करनी होगी उनको करेंगे और पंजाब में आतंकवाद को रोकने के लिए कार्यवाही करेंगे।

मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूं। मेरा पूरा विश्वास है कि अहिंसा का जो रास्ता गांधी जी ने हम सामने रखा था उसकी आज बहुत जरूरत है। आज सारे विश्व में गांधी जी के बताये हुए रास्ते पर चलने की जरूरत है। गांधी ने कहा था कि कोई तुम्हें थप्पड़ मारे तो दूसरा गाल भी उसके सामने कर दो। आज

[डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय]

यह सिद्धांत नहीं चलेगा । आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि विदेशी ताकतों के इशारे पर, पाकिस्तान से ट्रेनिंग लिये लोगों के बढ़ावे पर जो लोग आतंकवाद फैला रहे हैं, हमें उस आतंकवाद का मुकाबला करना चाहिए । जो भी आतंकवादी हैं, चाहे वे गुरुद्वारों में, मस्जिदों में हों, मंदिरों में हो, चाहे गरिजाघरों में हों या अन्य जिस किसी स्थान में हों, जो हमारी कानून की व्यवस्था है, डी०आई०आर० की व्यवस्था है, उसके मातहत उनको बंद करना चाहिए और जो संतों के नाम पर आतंकवादी बने हुए हैं उनके खिलाफ भी कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए । गुरु गोविन्द सिंह जी संत थे, गुरु नानक जी संत थे, जिन्होंने सारी मानवता के हितों की रक्षा के लिए उपदेश दिये, अपना जीवन उत्सर्ग कर दिया । चाहे सिख हों, चाहे मुसलमान हों, चाहे क्रिश्चियन धर्म में विश्वास करने वाले हों, चाहे हिन्दू हों, सब यहीं के नागरिक हैं, इस धरती में उत्पन्न हुए हैं, यहां की हवा में सांस लेते हैं, यहां उत्पन्न होने वाले अन्न को खाते हैं, यहां के वाता वरण में, एनवायरेन्टमेंट में, फलकर बड़े हुए हैं । जो कुप्रवृत्ति देश में फैल रही है, यह सब विदेशी तृष्णा के कारण हो रहा है । सब कुछ अपना भर लो, केवल हम मजबूत हो जायं । इसी ने आतंकवाद की सृष्टि की है । यह आरोप लगाया जाता है कि कांग्रेस सरकार आतंकवाद का मुकाबला करने में असमर्थ रही है । हम पूछना चाहते हैं कि बरनाला सरकार ने क्यों नहीं इसका मुकाबला करा लिया ? हम जितना हो रहा है, कर रहे हैं । मैं मंत्री जी से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इस विधेयक का तो मैं समर्थन करता हूं, जितने भी आतंकवादी इस देश में हैं, विशेष रूप से पंजाब में हैं उन सब को बिना मोह के, जो संत भिंडरावाला ब्लू स्टार में मारे गये थे, उनके पिता जी हैं जोगेन्द्र सिंह और आतंकवाद के प्रतीक पुरुष बने हुए हैं और इस तरह के न जाने कितने लोग हैं जिनकी जानकारी सारे देश को है, ऐसे लोगों को कड़ाई के साथ, हमें उनकी गतिविधियों को रोकने के लिए कड़ा से कड़ा कानून बना कर उनको हम अपने कब्जे में करें । इसके साथ ही जो विदेशों में आतंकवाद को प्रश्रय देने वाले तत्व हैं, जिनके संबंध में कानून बाधक बन जाता है, चाहे वे लन्दन में हों, चाहे आस्ट्रेलिया में हों, चाहे अमेरिका में हों, चाहे पाकिस्तान में हों, उनके लिए हमें जरूरत पड़े तो निश्चित रूप से वहां की सरकारों से बात करनी चाहिए । अगर आतंकवादी उनके देश में जाकर छिपते हैं, उनको बढ़ावा दिया जाता है तो हमें उन देशों की सरकारों से साफ बात करनी चाहिए । हम तो शांति में विश्वास करते हैं । किसी के आन्तरिक मामलों में हस्तक्षेप नहीं करते हैं और निश्चित रूप से जो विदेशी लोग आतंकवादियों को बढ़ावा देते हैं, आतंकवादियों को प्रश्रय देते हैं, आग फूंकने का काम करते हैं, उनसे निपटने का काम हमें मुस्तैदी से करना चाहिए ।

जहां तक मानसिक परिवर्तन की बात है, आज सब लोग मिल करके, आइये, हमारा गणतंत्र सुरक्षित है---पजाब सिन्ध गुजरात मराठा, द्रविण, उत्कल बंगा, जब हम यह राष्ट्र गीत गाएंगे तो क्या पंजाब खालिस्तान बनेगा ? इसके लिए देश की पूरी जनसंख्या कुर्बान होने के लिए तैयार है, लेकिन पंजाब को खालिस्तान नहीं बनने देगी, चाहे उसके लिए करोड़ों सिर देने पड़े । आतंकवादियों के खिलाफ बड़ी बहादुरी से श्री रिबेरो साहब, हमारे गवर्नर रे साहब और उनके सारे सहयोगी जो जन-मानस में विश्वास करते हैं, जनतंत्र में विश्वास करते हैं, जो अहिंसा परमोधर्म में विश्वास करते हैं, लड़ रहे हैं । 'परहित सरिस धरम नहीं भाई पर पीड़ा सम नहीं अधमाई' । तुलसीदास के इन शब्दों में हम विश्वास करते हैं । औरों को हंसते हुए देखकर अपने दुखों को भूल जाना चाहते हैं । सारा देश आज चाहता

हैं कि पंजाब में शांति स्थापित हो । पंजाब वीरों की धरती है, वहां के लोगों ने देश के लिये बड़ी कुर्बानी दी हैं । 'सतलुज, व्यासा, रावी, चिनाब, झेलम सिंह वहे पंजाब' । लेकिन आज सतलुज, रावी व्यास और चिनाब की नदियों के पानी को लेकर वहां पर आतंकवादी जिस तरह की हिंसा कर रहे हैं, ऐसी हिंसा भारत में ही नहीं बल्कि विश्व के इतिहास में बहुत कम हुई है उससे निपटने के लिये, उसका मुकाबला करने के लिये इससे अच्छा और कोई उपाय नहीं हो सकता था कि राष्ट्रपति को अधिकार दिये जांयें और समय समय पर वहां की गतिविधियों का मूल्यांकन करके ऐसे उपाय किये जांयें जिससे जो हिंसा पंजाब में व्याप्त है वह हमेशा के लिये समाप्त हो सके ।

मुझे विश्वास है कि हमारी सरकार राजीव गांधी के नेतृत्व में वचनबद्ध है, हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जो सारे देश के प्रधानमंत्री हैं, वे इस आतंकवाद को मिटाकर छोड़ेंगे। आज एक दूसरे पर आरोप लगाने से काम नहीं चलेगा । अभी कहा गया है कि अंकुश लगाया जाय और भी कई तरह की बातें आई । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि सब चाहते हैं कि आतंकवाद खत्म हो । इस सदन में बैठा एक भी सदस्य यह नहीं चाहता है कि आतंकवाद चले । मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है कि हिंसा में कोई विश्वास नहीं करता । लेकिन पंजाब में जो आजकल मानसिकता है उसको कैसे बदलेंगे ? उस मानसिकता को बदलने के लिये माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आज बहुत गंभीरता से सोचने का समय आ गया है और उस सोच में समस्त लोगों को मिलकर, उसमें कोई कांग्रेस और विरोधी दलों का प्रश्न नहीं है यह एक राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न है, राष्ट्र रहेगा, पंजाब रहेगा तभी विरोधी दल और कांग्रेस रहेगी, इस भावना के साथ आतंकवाद का मुकाबला किया जाये । वह जमाना गया जब कि तोप मुकाबिल हो तो अखबार निकालो । अगर हमारे सामने कोई किसी की हत्या करता है तो उस हत्यारे को पकड़ कर सजा देने के लिए इतना लम्बा प्रोसेस हमारे कानून का है कि उसमें सालों लग जाते हैं । जनता तुरन्त सजा सुनना चाहती है । ऐसे लोगों से निश्चित रूप से कड़ाई के साथ पूछताछ करके उनके पास जो रहस्य हों उनको उगलवाना चाहिए, जनता ऐसा ही चाहती है । पंजाब की मानसिकता अगर बदलनी है तो वह इसी तरह से बदलेगी । मुझे विश्वास है, क्योंकि बहुत दिनों तक आतंकवाद चल नहीं सकता । जो विरोधी ताकतें हमारे देश में है, जो इसका राजनैतिक लाभ उठाना चाहती हैं, चाहे वे कहीं के लोग हों या विरोधी दलों के लोग हों, तो इससे उत्पन्न समस्या पर हम सब को मिल जुलकर विचार करना होगा और ऐसे तत्वों का मुकाबला करना होगा । हम प्रस्ताव पास कर लें, राष्ट्रपति महोदय को अधिकार दे दें और आतंकवादी, भले ही वे गुरुद्वारे में पनप रहे हों, भले ही वे बहुत बड़े अधिकारियों या सफेद पोश लोगों के घर में पलते हों, उनको वहां से खींचकर बाहर लाना होगा । जो राष्ट्र-द्रोही हैं, देश-द्रोही हैं जो देश को बांटने वाले लोगों के साथ मिले हुए हैं उनका हमको डटकर मुकाबला करना है । हमारा देश अशोक का देश रहा है । अशोक का कलिंग विजय के बाद हृदय परिवर्तन हुआ । अशोक ने, आज जो हमारा राष्ट्रीय चिह्न है, उसका सृजन किया था । सब के सुख में अपने शासन को, अपने अस्तित्व को उसने माना था । यह बुद्ध का देश है जहां करुणा का भाव उत्पन्न हुआ बुद्ध ने अपनी सत्ता छोड़ दी और मानवता की सेवा करना शुरू कर दिया । हजारों वर्षों के बाद एक लंगोटधारी संत, महात्मा गांधी इस देश में उत्पन्न हुए, जिन्होंने इस देश को स्वतंत्र किया । ऐसे देश में आतंकवाद चले, यह हमारे लिये गौरव की बात नहीं है। यह नानक का देश है, यह कबीर का देश है, यह तुलसीदास का देश है, यह सुब्रहमण्यम भारती का देश है । इस देश में परोपकाराय सतां विभूतयः परोपकार ही समस्त उपलब्धियों की सृष्टि है, इसमें हम विश्वास करते हैं । मुझे विश्वास है कि यह जो प्रस्ताव हम लाये हैं यह निश्चित रूप से देश के लिये लाभकारी होगा। इसमें 45 संसद सदस्य पूरे देश का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं । 30 लोकसभा के और 15 राज्यसभा के सदस्य मिलकर राष्ट्रपति जी को परामर्श देंगे ।

[डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय]

उसके अनुसार मुझे विश्वास है, मैं निराशावादी नहीं हूं, आग के गोले में खेलने में विश्वास रखने वाले लोग अभी भी इस देश में और संसद में हैं । मुझे विश्वास है कि यह समस्या सदैव के लिये जड़ से समाप्त होगी ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया इसके लिये मैं आपके प्रति कृतज्ञता व्यक्त करता हूं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr. Babul Reddy. You have eight minutes. You are known for your brevity.

SHRI P. BABUL REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I will finish within seven minutes. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity. As the hon. Minister rightly said, this is the usual follow-up action after the proclamation of the President's Rule. Nothing strange in the Bill. There is nothing to applaud nor anything to boast of. But this gives an opportunity to say a few words on a very sad situation which is prevailing in this great land of Punjab, the trouble through which the great people of Punjab are passing. Sir, the Punjab situation reminds me of the prayer of witches in Macbeth. The prayer was "double, double, toil and trouble". This is the situation Punjab is facing.

Sir, most people agree today that the rootcause for the Punjab trouble was the rise of Bhindranwale. May I ask the leaders of which party are responsible for bringing up that man to such a stature, who threw Punjab into this turmoil. It is not my purpose to blame X, Y or Z or any party. But one should now the rootcause for this. When President's Rule was imposed, most parties, most opposition parties, said that this was an unwise step. The AIADMK which is the ally of the Congress(I) also agreed with us. Many people committed a mistake. I must confess I share that mistake. When the Blue Star Operation was undertaken, some people felt that this was a mistake. I do not blame. It is not my purpose to blame .But at least, in retrospect, we must analyse the situation and say that we are wrong if we are really wrong. The Blue Star Operation was undertaken in a total misunderstanding of the Sikh psychology. At that time, the whole country minus the Sikhs might have felt that the Blue Star Operation was a good thing. Now, at least some people like me regret that we had taken a wrong decision. But we have to see what is the psychology, what is the thinking of the Sikhs on the other side. In my humble opinion, without exaggeration, 99 per cent of the Sikhs in their heart of hearts abhor the Blue Star Operation. There is no use saying 'I am right inmy understanding'. One should also understand the feelings of the other side. There is no use of damning them. You cannot damn them. If you look at the history, you can see what sacrifices the Sikhs had made during the freedom struggle and, therefore, what is really due to them, for their contribution in achieving freedom, should be given to them. It is very unfortunate. There cannot be more an ironical thing than the Sikhs killing Hindus. We were taught in the schools that the Sikhs were more or less an Army to defend the other faith. The elder brother is a Sikh, the younger brothers are Hindu. But politics has come into play. Interested people have encouraged some undesirable persons to come up.

So mistakes have been committed. It is no use bemoaning the mistakes that have been committed. The President's rule itself is a mistake. As Mr. John rightly said, if peoples' elected representatives cannot control terrorism, how can a Governor from Bengal control the situation there? It is not a dacoit movement that it can be controlled by force. It is a political movement. It should be solved at the political level. You encourage people like Bhindranwale and imprison people

like Badal who are very sensible people, whose patriotism cannot be doubted. Yesterday I felt very sorry when General Aurora pleaded for bare comforts for Mr. Badal who is now a NSA detenu. He was pleading for a radio, a fan and such other simple things. It is a shame. Today I may be in power, tomorrow I may be a detenu. People who are in power today may become detenus tomorrow. This cannot be ruled out. It happens in this country. So there must be a difference in approach.

The first thing I would suggest is that if you want to stop this carnage—you open any paper today, you find "in Punjab 21 people are killed"; it is not news; the news is if nobody is killed on a day in Punjab; the situation has come to that— his must be solved at the political level by understanding the Sikh psychology. The Sikh students, the Sikh youth should be called for a conference. If you can call Mizoram leader Laldenga for a conference who had been proclaimed as a man waging war against India for 22 or 25 years, there is nothing wrong in calling the Sikh Youth Federation. One minute more, Sir.

I appeal to the Government, I am not criticising the Government, let us not think of the mistakes, let us think of the future. You must release Mr. Badal and many others against whom there are no specific cases pending. You must appeal to the Sikh students and Sikh youth. Whatever mistakes have happened, have happened. Let us solve this problem. Let us save this great land of Punjab. Let this shame on the country be removed. It is in that spirit the Government should move, and if they move in that spirit, peace can be achieved in Punjab. This is my humble opinion. Thank you.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, it is a tragic situation on which, I do not know, no expression comes The land where thousands of people bared their chests to the British police bullets in Jalianwalabagh, that Amritsar is in agonmy today. That place where Lala Lajpat Rai was beaten to death by the British, that glorious land of Punjab is in agony today.

Now what are we discussing? You have proclaimed President's rule; you have removed democracy. You forget that you are authoritarian; you forget that this society is an exploitative society where the poor are exploited by the rich—you representing the richer section of the society. You forget all that. You represent landlordism, you represent big business, you represent multinationals, your policies are only of not following the Directive Principles enshrined in the Constitution. And you allow money to operate.

What is the position in Punjab today? The economic base is threatened. There is starvation. Today there is drought in Punjab and agricultural production is going down. All the standards and educational institutions are in disarray. And what is it you are thinking? How do you think you can salvage this position? You think that by killing some terrorists you can salvage this position. Who gave you this funny idea? Have you gone through the books of Mahatma Gandhi? Who has given you this philosophy of the gun for rooting out this terrorism? You have removed a democratically elected Government that was existing there. You have not allowed the people's sentiments to act in Punjab and you are incapable of mobilizing public opinion in Punjab. That is because you were never found to be in the villages of Punjab. Peasants are dying in their sleep—the glorious martyrs of Punjab whom we are counting every day. The Communists and others are being shot dead in their sleep.

The Prime Minister says that Pakistan is interfering in India's internal situation by encouraging, arming and sending terrorists into Punjab. Today itself he has stated this. Pakistan is

[Dr. G. Vijaya Mohan Reddy]

allowing the U.S. to operate from there. Today it has allowed one port to be used by the U.S. for military purposes. It is giving them bases. Now the entire country is facing this danger. The border is insecure. And whenever there was a war with Pakistan, it was the Punjabi people who dared to stand on their roofs, it was they who dared to come into the streets, in spite of the bombings, with *rotis* for the jawans and that is how we were able to win our wars on that border. But you have forgotten everything. You have set aside the democratic norms.

Our party alone, during those days, was bold enough to speak against Operation Blue Star. Then you tried to remark against our Party. Afterwards, it is our party alone—the Telugu Desam Party—which said elections were necessary and that a democratic election alone was going to be the solution to the Punjab problem. Elections were conducted, but when you proclaimed President's rule it was our Party which said that promulgation of President's rule was not going to solve the problem but it was rather going to intensify every one of the contradictions that were existing in Punjab to such an extent that it would be beyond your control.

What is the performance of the law and order machinery? Within three months, six hundred people have been shot dead. Can you deny this? Six hundred people! Treble the number when Barnala was ruling! Why such a situation? Today, a person—Jathedar Darshan Singh of the Akal Takht—has suspended all his activities and gone back to his village. Several of the Akali Dal leaders have gone back to their villages. No initiative is there. In the cry of wilderness, the terrorists are given a free hand. And now we do not know how the situation can be salvaged. And your confidant man, Ribiero, the policeman, himself has stated that police cannot succeed, in his own statement.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please conclude now.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: How are you going to solve this? You have to go back to the democratic norms, allow the people to come into their own democratic way of functioning, and then public opinion has to be mobilised behind that democratic opinion. And it is going to be a great fight. And in this fight, we have to win. That is why, let today be the last day of President's Rule.

You may pass this Resolution because of your majority. But that is not going to serve any purpose. You please do understand that the democratically elected Legislature which is under suspended animation, must come into its own. All the political parties must mobilise public opinion.

India is a great country. There is no one in Punjab in favour of Khalistan. Even among the terrorists, it is also known that several of them do not like Khalistan, and some of them have been forced to support it because of the State terrorism. I know that the Congress Party, when it becomes authoritarian, is deadly.

You have joined hands with the Nizam. You have shaken hands with the razakars. They entered Telengana villages and burnt down 2,000 villages of Telengana. Thousands of youth have been killed in the armed struggle against the Nizam, we know. But the Congress, once it decides to take action, goes against the people.

That is why, I want the Congress Party and the Ministers to revive the ideals of the great freedom movement, to think in terms of democratic institutions, to see that there is freedom of speech in Punjab, to see that, as Mr. Babul Reddy said :

SHRIMATI AMARJIT KAUR (Punjab): Freedom of speech is there in Punjab.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: I know. In view of terrorism, how many times have you utilised the freedom of speech in Punjab? How many villages have you toured? You are a respected **Member of Parliament**. As a Member of Parliament, it is my duty to visit my constituency and go round the villages. How many of us are doing this? This is one thing which is required.

That is why, I request the Government of India to reconsider the entire policy towards Punjab and come back to democratic norms and democratic functioning so that this country can be safe and the imperialists are not left to take advantage of the Punjab situation

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): The House now adjourns for lunch and will meet again at 2-30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-four minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-four minutes past two of the clock, **The Vice-Chairman (Shri Jagesh Desai)** in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Sardar Jagjit Singh Aurora. Only five minutes.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to speak against the Bill. President's rule has been imposed again and the results of the last three months are known to everyone. They say once bitter twice shy. The Central Government has already been bitter twice but still persists with this effort. For the first time, you tried to solve the problem of Punjab in 1982-83 by fake encounters when the Congress was in power in Punjab. You only aggravated it. Then we had a dose of Presidential Rule which resulted in operation Blue Star followed by operation Woodrose which created a feeling of anger and revulsion in the whole community. Bhindranwale did not ask for Khalistan. His death has given his followers and others a handle for Khalistan to assuage their hurt feelings. Now, President's Rule has been imposed again and the result of the last three months are known to everyone. More innocent people have been killed by terrorists and the State apparatus in the last three months than were killed in one year during the duly elected Akali Dal Government. If there is one lesson to be learnt from this, it is that terrorism and certainly State terrorism does not pay. Accords do provide a solution provided they are implemented speedily and sincerely. In this dismal picture of Punjab, the only bright spot for a short spell was a period of Accord and the election and a short duration afterwards when the Akali Government was in power. At this stage, faith in the Centre's sincerity had been re-established. It got its first jolt on 26th January, 1986 and disappeared in June, 1986 after Venkataramiah's report. Instead of doing an honest appraisal, the Centre decided to go in for suppression to eliminate terrorism to the total exclusion of any political initiative or consideration. I cannot say whether it is to their credit or misplaced confidence of the Punjab Government, who felt that once the law and order situation improves a little, political initiative will follow and they wholeheartedly cooperated with the Centre. But when a few fleeting opportunities for political initiative were offered, these were ignored and no initiative was taken and it was not taken deliberately because by now, Haryana State Assembly election was looming large on the political horizon. It did not pay to take any political initiative in the Punjab. Naturally, no lasting improvement took place. Jathedar Darshan Singh's efforts at bringing about an understanding amongst the various Akali groups, in the month of February was successfully thwarted. The Chief Minister of

[Sardar Jaggit Singh Aurora]

Punjab was full somely praised in the Presedential Address to both Houses of Parliament on 28th February, 1987. For about six weeks, he was a beacon of secularism. Soonafter, he became incompetent and finally was dismissed on 11th May, 1987, again for reasons of election in Haryana. I must say it was a remarkable rise and fall in less than four and a half months. Unfortunately, for the Centre, however, this political chicanery did not fool anybody, either the people of Punjab or Haryana where the Congress suffered a complete debacle. In thirty months, a massive mandate had resulted in a massive defeat in Haryana.

Reimposition of President's Rule in Punjab has angered and upset the people. They are no longer ready to cooperate. The Central Government is working in a complete vacuum. Resentment is increasing day by day. Even though massive, oppressive measures, have been taken and the security forces have been given a completely free hand, the results are disappointing. As I said earlier on, there have been more people killed in the three months during Presidential rule than killed in the one year during the Akali State Government's rule. Jailing of thousands of young people and killing of the innocent cannot cause a change of heart, it can only embitter hearts.

I would like to mention something about the National Integration Meeting we recently had in Chandigarh under the Chairmanship of the Governor of Punjab. Representatives of all parties accepted that since the imposition of President's rule, the general situation had deteriorated and the credibility of the Central Government was at a low ebb. Various measures were considered, but none of them satisfied the people present because they all felt that if we were to go to the people, "What are we going to tell them? What have we got for them? What have we got for them by way of water? What have we got for them by way of killing of the innocent and that goes for both the communities?"

Let us accept that the problem of Punjab is poltical and it has been political from the beginning. It had been complicated from the beginning in order to gain electoral advantages by exciting and creating differences between the two communities, by creating fear complex against the Sikhs as being separatist and anti-national. Now, these aspects cannot promote a unified society and the people who are responsible for creation of these, to my mind, are the Central Government.

To end up, I opopse the Bill with great sincerity as I am convinced that President's Rule is working against the two main basic factors, human rights and democratic rights. By denying these rights to the people, you can only cause permanent damage to the integrity and safety of the country.

Thank you.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय जो विधेयक सदन के सामने विचाराधीन है उसमें विरोध करने लायक कुछ भी नहीं है। राष्ट्रपति राज के सवाल पर मतभेद हो सकते हैं लेकिन एक बार राष्ट्रपति राज लागू हो गया तो संसद को कानून बनाने का अधिकार लेना और इस सम्बन्ध में संसद सदस्यों की एक सलाहकार समिति का निर्माण, यह सही दिशा में एक कदम है।

महोदय, यह सच है कि पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति राज लागू करने का सवाल हरियाणा के चुनाव के साथ जोड़ दिया गया। राष्ट्रपति राज देर से लागू किया गया, गलत वक्त पर लाग किया गया। अभी जनरल अरोड़ा ठीक कह रहे थे कि राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करने से पहले बरनाला सरकार की तुलना महाराजा रणजीत सिंह की सरकार से की गयी थी।

अमृतसर में जलियांवाला बाग में केन्द्र के एक मंत्री के मुंह से बरनाला सरकार को प्रशस्ति पत्र दिया गया था। अचानक बरनाला सरकार बर्खास्त करने लायक कैसे हो गयी ? सचमुच में राष्ट्रपति राज उस दिन लागू किया जाना चाहिए था जिस दिन अकाली बरनाला सरकार अल्पमत में आ गयी थी, विधान सभा में वह अपना बहुमत खो चुकी थी। कांग्रेस पार्टी के समर्थन पर टिकी हुई थी, उस दिन अगर कांग्रेस पार्टी समर्थन वापस ले लेती और बहुमत के अभाव में पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति राज लागू करना पड़ता तो आज कांग्रेस पार्टी कठघरे में खड़ी न होती।

एक दूसरा पहलू भी रखना चाहता हूं। राष्ट्रपति राज गलत वक्त पर लागू किया गया। जैन मुनि सुशील कुमार जी केन्द्र की अनुमति से, केन्द्र को जानकारी में, स्वर्ण मन्दिर में अलग-अलग वर्गों से, अलग-अलग गुटों से बात करने के लिए गये थे। अभी न्यूयार्क में मेरी उनसे मुलाकात हुई थी। उन्होंने कहा था कि हम किसी नतीजे पर पहुंचने लगे थे कि राष्ट्रपति राज लागू कर दिया गया और हमें अमृतसर से वापस आना पड़ा। मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि इस सम्बन्ध में स्थिति क्या है ? बरनाला सरकार के चलते आतंकवाद पर नियन्त्रण असम्भव हो गया था क्योंकि बरनाला सरकार के कुछ मंत्री स्वयं मुख्य मंत्री की इच्छा के बावजूद आतंकवादियों से जुड़े हुए थे। बरनाला उन्हें काबू में नहीं रख सकते थे। स्थिति बिगड़ने लगी थी। समाज सुधार के नाम पर पंजाब में हिंसा और हत्या की एक ऐसी हवा फैल गयी थी जिसमें लोगों का पंजाब में रहना मुश्किल हो गया था। राष्ट्रपति राज को इतनी उपलब्धि माननी पड़ेगी कि समाज सुधार के नाम पर चलने वाला आन्दोलन कि महिला किस तरह के कपड़े पहने कौन लोग किस तरह की दुकानें करें, यह सिलसिला बंद हो गया। लेकिन आतंकवादियों की गतिविधियां बढ़ गयी हैं। पंजाब के बाद हरियाणा, दिल्ली, दिल्ली तो केन्द्र शासित है, पहले ग्रेटर कैलाश में सामूहिक हत्या हुई और बाद में कालकाजी में भारतीय जनता पार्टी के दो प्रमुख नेताओं की उनके घर के सामने भारत की राजधानी में दिन-दहाड़े गोली से मार दिया गया। अब ग्रेटर कैलाश में घटना हुई थी तो सरकार को चेतावनी दी गयी थी कि दक्षिण दिल्ली, चंडीगढ़, मोहाली, ये आतंकवादी अपने नये अड्डे बना रहे हैं। प्रभावी कार्रवाई रोकथाम के लिए नहीं की गयी। हत्यारे अभी तक पकड़े नहीं गये। आतंकवादियों का उद्देश्य साफ है। पंजाब में उन पर दबाव बढ़ा है मैं यह मानता हूं। लेकिन अगर वे और जगह घटनाएं करके बच निकलते हैं तो फिर उनके मनसूबे पूरे होने के लिए वातावरण बनेगा। उनके मनसूबे साफ हैं---हिन्दू और सिखों में दंगे कराना, पंजाब से गैर सिखों को निकालने की परिस्थिति पैदा करना। अब पंजाब से गैर सिख फिर से निकलने लगे हैं, ये खबरें आ रही हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि पंजाब पुलिस और पैरा-मिलिटरी फोर्सेज की मदद के लिए क्या पंजाब के तीन जिलों में जो पाकिस्तान से लगते हैं और जहां आतंकवादियों ने अपनी गतिविधियां केन्द्रित की हैं क्या उनकी मदद के लिए फौज की सहायता नहीं ली जा सकती ? मैं पंजाब में फौजी शासन की मांग नहीं कर रहा हूं। दिल्ली में फौज को कह दिया गया कि तैयार रहे। मेरठ में फौज ने मार्च किया। अहमदाबाद में भी फौज की आवश्यकता पड़ी थी। लोगों का निकलना रोकना भी बहुत जरूरी है। मगर पंजाब से लोगों का निष्क्रमण हुआ है और अगर पंजाब से निकलने वाले लोग देश के विभिन्न भागों में जाएंगे, दिल्ली में फिर से उन्होंने डेरा डाला तो वातावरण बिगड़ेगा। मैं दिल्ली की जनता को बधाई देना चाहता हूं। श्री सेठी और श्री मुंजाल की हत्या के बाद भी दिल्ली के लोगों ने संयम से काम लिया। बदले की एक भी घटना नहीं हुई। लोगों से आप क्या आशा करते हैं ? प्रधान मंत्री लाल किले पर बोले कि जनता साथ दे। किस तरह से साथ दे ? राष्ट्रपति जी ने भी अपील की है। हम मानते हैं कि आतंकवाद से निपटना सब का काम है। मगर इसमें आम आदमी क्या करे ? क्या सरकार की जिम्मेवारी नहीं है कि हिंसात्मक घटनाएं रोके ? मैं मानता हूं कि राष्ट्रपति का राज पंजाब की समस्या का समाधान

[श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी]

नहीं है । राज्यपाल रे या डायरेक्टर जनरल रिबेरो पंजाब का राजनैतिक हल ढूंढ लेंगे, यह न उनके बस की बात है और न इसकी जिम्मेवारी है । उनकी जिम्मेवारी इतनी है कि आतंकवाद को फैलने से रोकें, नियंत्रित करें, हिंसा और हत्या पर अंकुश लगाये । मगर केन्द्रीय सरकार क्या इस बात का जवाब दे सकती है कि इस सदन ने 249 के अन्तर्गत एक प्रस्ताव पास कर दिया, आपने पंजाब में सुरक्षा पट्टी क्यों नहीं बनाई । कल प्रधानमंत्री ने किसी पत्रिका को साक्षात्कार दिया और फिर से शिकायत की है कि पाकिस्तान से हथियार आ रहे हैं, पाकिस्तान में अड्डे हैं। आप हथियारों का आना और ट्रेनिंग लेकर जो लोग आ रहे हैं उनको रोकते क्यों नहीं ? सुरक्षा पट्टी का प्रस्ताव खटाई में क्यों डाल दिया गया ? पहले कहा गया कि बरनाला सरकार विरोध कर रही है । हम उस सरकार का विरोध मोल लेकर सुरक्षा पट्टी नहीं बनाना चाहते हैं । अब तो बरनाला सरकार नहीं है । केन्द्र का शासन है । अब आप सुरक्षा पट्टी को लागू करिये । राजस्थान में आवश्यकता है, गुजरात में आवश्यकता है । प्रधान मंत्री ने ठीक ही कहा कि हथियार आ रहे हैं, नशे की चीजें आ रही हैं, अवैध घुसपैठ हो रही है । मगर सरकार ने उस प्रस्ताव पर अमल नहीं किया । मैं चण्डीगढ़ गया था । राज्यपाल श्री रे से मेरी मुलाकात नहीं हो सकी; मगर डायरेक्टर जनरल श्री रिबेरो मुझे मिले । मैंने उनसे पूछा कि जो एन-काउन्टर की खबरें आ रही हैं, निर्दोष लोग मारे जा रहे हैं, गलत है । वहां आतंकवादी निर्दोष लोगों को मार रहे हैं, यह भी नहीं भूलना चाहिए । लेकिन पुलिस निर्दोष लोगों को मारे, यह ठीक नहीं है । मैंने उनसे कहा कि अगर इस तरह के आरोप लगाये जायें तो आप क्या करें ? उन्होंने मुझ से कहा कि वे स्वयं सौ गांवों में हो आए हैं । वे गांवों में जाते हैं, गांवों की सभा में पूछते हैं कि क्या गांव में कोई नवजवान गायब है ? क्या कोई नवजवान मुठभेड़ में मारा गया है ? श्री रिबेरो का कहना है कि सौ गांवों में एक भी ऐसा व्यक्ति उन्हें नहीं मिला जो इस बात की पुष्टि करे कि कहीं गलत ढंग से लोग मारे गये हैं ।

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: On a point of order, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): How can there be a point of order now when he is speaking?

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: There is a point of order. How do you say that there is no point of order? A statement has been made about Mr. Rebeiro. I only want to say that in a meeting with the Governor, one Mr.Kirpal Singh, who is an MLA, said that fifteen innocent people had been killed and that he could give the names of those persons. But Mr. Rebeiro never asked for those names... (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): He should have given those names... (*Interruptions*)...It was his duty to give those names if he happened to have them with him.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदय, पंजाब की समस्या केवल कानून और व्यवस्था की समस्या नहीं है, यह हम लोग भी स्वीकार करते हैं । समस्या देश की एकता और अखण्डता की रक्षा की है । केवल पुलिस के बल पर समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती है । लेकिन जब तक हिंसा और हत्या का सिलसिला बन्द नहीं होता है, राजनैतिक हल ढूंढने की दिशा में कैसे प्रगति की जा सकती है । अमृतसर में जो कुछ अभी हाल में घटनाएं हुई हैं, जिस तरह से अकाल तख्त के जत्थेदार श्री रागी को अमृतसर और अकाल तख्त छोड़कर जाना पड़ा है और जिस तरह से खालिस्तान की घोषणाएं हुई हैं उससे ऐसा लगता है कि आतंकवादी तुले हुए हैं मुठभेड़ के लिए । उनकी चुनौती का जवाब देने के अलावा और

कोई चारा नहीं है और उनकी चुनौती के जवाब में हम लोग अधिक से अधिक सहयोग दें।...(**व्यवधान**)... भजनलाल जी आप मत बोलिये । हरियाणा में बस हत्याकांड के बाद भजनलाल जी ने जो राजनीति की वह घटिया राजनीति थी ।

पर्यावरण और वन मंत्री (श्री भजन लाल) : कैसे?...(**व्यवधान**)... उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अटल जी ने बहुत गुस्से में कहा कि मैंने इस तरह की राजनीति की । मैं जरा सा क्लेरीफाई करना चाहता हूं । जब मुझे पता लगा तो क्या मेरा फर्ज नहीं बनता था कि मैं हत्याकांड के मौके पर जाऊं । वह मेरा जिला है, मेरा घर है, गांव है जहां वह हत्याकांड हुआ । वह एरिया मेरा है । इसलिये मैं जाती तौर पर वहां गया । इनके सहयोगी, जो हरियाणा में राज करते हैं उन्होंने मेरे ऊपर इल्जाम लगाया कि इस हत्याकांड में भजनलाल का हाथ है । तो क्या मैं उनको चैलेंज न करूं ? मैं आज भी चैलेंज करता हूं कि कोई भी सुप्रीम कोर्ट या हाई कोर्ट के जज इसकी जांच करे और अगर यह आरोप साबित हो तो भजनलाल हमेशा के लिये राजनीति से सन्यास ले लेगा और अगर वह साबित न हो तो वे इस्तीफा दे दें । यह मैं आज भी कहता हूं । अगर कोई मेरे खिलाफ इल्जाम लगाये तो क्या मुझे बोलने का अधिकार नहीं है ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : **श्री भजन लाल** के खिलाफ आरोप यह नहीं है कि उन्होंने बस हत्याकांड कराया । ऐसा उनके ऊपर कोई आरोप नहीं है, उनका उसमें कोई हाथ नहीं है, मगर बाद में...

श्री भजन लाल : बार बार कहा है ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : लेकिन बाद में जो हिंसा हुई उसमें भजनलाल जी से जुड़े हुए लोग मिले थे ।

श्री भजन लाल : यह भी गलत है कि इस तरह से बेबुनियाद बात कह दी जाये हम अगर यह कहना चाहें कि बी० जे० पी० और लोकदल और आपका हाथ है तो यह अच्छी बात नहीं है । यहां पर कांग्रेस की, लोकदल या बी० जे० पी० की बात न करें जिसका कसूर हो उनके खिलाफ करें । दिल्ली में जो लोकदल वालों ने विजय रैली के समय किया, क्या हालत उन्होंने की, लूटमार की, कैसी हालत उन्होंने यहां पैदा की ? बहू बेटियों की इज्जत तक लूटी गई, गरीबों के खोखे रेहड़ियां तक लूट लीं । यह-काम लोकदल वाले ही कर सकते हैं; कांग्रेस वाले नहीं ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उस समय जो कुछ हुआ उसकी हमने वकालत नहीं की । (**व्यवधान**) मगर हरियाणा सरकार अभी चुनकर आई थी और उसको उत्तराधिकार में जब शासन मिला तो यह बस कांड जिसमें अचानक लोग मारे गये, अचानक हमला हुआ, हो गया । उसके लिये हरियाणा सरकार के खिलाफ राजनैतिक अभियान आरम्भ करना और वह भी एक केन्द्रीय मंत्री द्वारा, अगर भजनलाल जी केन्द्र में मंत्री न होते तो मुझे कोई शिकायत न होती ।

श्री भजन लाल : आप एक सीनियर मेम्बर हैं । आपको यह बात कहना शोभा नहीं देता । मैं आपका मान करता हूं । मैंने कुछ नहीं किया है । उन्होंने जो कुछ कहा है मैंने उसका जवाब मजबूरी में दिया है ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं तो बोल रहा था । मैं भजनलाल जी का नाम भी न लेता । मैं सवेरे अलग से भजन कर लिया करता हूं । मुझे कोई भजनलाल जी का सदन में नाम लेने की जरूरत नहीं है ।

श्री भजन लाल : आप बोलिये और सुझाव दीजिये कि पंजाब की हालत बहुत बुरी है और पंजाब में इसका इलाज क्या होना चाहिए, कैसे हालात ठीक हो सकते हैं, उसके बारे में कोई सुझाव दीजिये ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं जो सुझाव यह दे रहा था सुरक्षा पट्टी बनाने का क्या यह सुझाव नहीं है, क्या तीन जिलों में सेना की मदद लेना, यह सुझाव नहीं है, क्या पंजाब के लोगों को संगठित करने के लिये गांव-गांव में रक्षा दल बनाने और जो आतंकवाद से लड़ना चाहते हैं, उन्हें हथियार देना और इस ओर सावधानी बरतना ताकि हथियार गलत हाथों में न चले जायें यह सुझाव नहीं है । वहां हमारा कार्यकर्त्ता मारा गया है, अभी कल हत्या हो गई, उन्होंने दम तोड़ दिया। हथियार नहीं हैं, लाइसेंस नहीं हैं । आतंकवाद से पुलिस हर जगह लड़ नहीं सकती, लोग लड़ना चाहते हैं लेकिन उनके पास हथियार नहीं हैं । हथियार महंगे हैं, उनके पास लाइसेंस नहीं हैं । गांव-गांव में रक्षा दलों को क्यों नहीं बनाया जा रहा है ? राज्यपाल अधिक से अधिक स्थानों पर जाने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं, मेहनत कर रहे हैं। मगर इतना काफी नहीं है । मैं सहमत हूं अपने मित्रों से कि इस लड़ाई में जनता का अधिक से अधिक सहयोग प्राप्त होना चाहिए और इसके लिये पंजाब में मिलकर बैठें और बातचीत करें । राष्ट्रपति का शासन हमेशा नहीं रह सकता । एक दिन आयेगा जब राष्ट्रपति शासन की अवधि समाप्त होगी और पंजाब में फिर से चुनी हुई सरकार काम करेगी । हमारी भी इच्छा है लेकिन आज के वातावरण में जब तक आतंकवादियों द्वारा हिंसा और हत्यायें बंद नहीं होती, चुन-चुन कर लोगों को मारना और सामूहिक रूप से मारना, इस पर रोकथाम नहीं लगती, इसका राजनैतिक हल कैसे निकल सकता है, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Shri Satya Prakash Malaviya; only four minutes please.

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, 11 मई, 1987 को एक निर्णय द्वारा वहां की सरकार को समाप्त करना और वहां के मुख्य मंत्री श्री सुरजीत सिंह बरनाला को बरखास्त करना और वहां की विधान सभा का निलंबन करना यह उचित नहीं था । उस समय भी मैंने इसी सदन में यह राय दी थी । जो घोषणा उस समय राष्ट्रपति जी की जारी की गई थी उसमें कहा गया था कि पंजाब में भारत के संविधान के अनुसार, उसके उपबंधों के हैं अनुसार क्योंकि शासन नहीं चलाया सकता है इसलिये आवश्यक हो गया हैं कि वहां पर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया जाए। जाहिर हैं कि आज राष्ट्रपति शासन यदि समाप्त हो जाए तो यह वर्तमान विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया गया है, जिसका नाम है पंजाब राज्य विधान मंडल (शक्तियों का प्रत्यायोजन) विधेयक, 1987 । इसकी कोई आवश्यकता नहीं रह जाएगी । इसलिए मैं सदन के माध्यम से इस सरकार से मांग करता हूं कि पंजाब में जो समस्या है इसका समाधान राष्ट्रपति शासन नहीं हैं केवल जनता द्वारा और जनता के वोटों से चुनी हुई सरकार ही उसका समाधान कर सकती है। मैं इस बात को भी नहीं मानता कि बरनाला साहब वहां पर अल्पमत में हो गये । कोई भी मुख्य मंत्री अल्पमत में है या बहुमत में है इसका निर्णय केवल विधान सभा के अन्दर हो सकता है । इसलिए जिस दिन राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया 11 मई, 1987 को, उस दिन बरनाला साहब अल्पमत में नहीं थे । इसलिए उनकी सरकार को निलम्बित करना या समाप्त करना उचित नहीं था । हमारे संविधान के अनुच्छेद 355 के अन्तर्गत केन्द्रीय सरकार की भी जिम्मेदारी हैं और उसका उद्धरण मैं प्रस्तुत करना चाहूंगा--

"Duty of the Union to protect States against external aggression and internal disturbance: It shall be the duty of the Union to protect every State against external aggression and internal distrubance..."

हमारे विद्वान साथी श्री वालमपुरी जान जब चर्चा में भाग ले रहे थे तो उन्होंने इस बात की सम्भावना को व्यक्त किया

या कि राष्ट्रपति शासन में भी जो मंशा है सरकार की वह स्पष्ट नहीं होती है यानी पंजाब में शान्ति नहीं होती है तो उस सूरत में क्या केन्द्रीय सरकार या जो प्रधान मंत्री हैं क्या राष्ट्रपति को इस बात को संस्तुति करेंगे कि उनकी सरकार को समाप्त कर दिया जाए । मेरे पास जो आंकड़े हैं पौने तीन महीने के 11 मई, 1987 से ले कर 4 अगस्त, 1987 के बीच में 500 लोगों की हत्याएं हुई । (व्यवधान)

श्री पवन कुमार बांसल : हम लोगों ने तो अपनी सरकार उस वक्त छोड़ दी थी जब 6 लोग मरे थे ।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : मेरे पास जो आंकड़े उपलब्ध हैं उनके अनुसार 11 मई, 1987 से 4 अगस्त, 1987 के बीच में 500 लोगों की हत्याएं हुई जो कि सब आतंकवादियों द्वारा मारे गये । 439 लोगों की हत्या पंजाब के अन्दर हुई और 61 लोगों की हत्या पंजाब के बाहर हुई । इसी प्रकार से 356 लोग आतंकवादियों द्वारा घायल किये गये पंजाब के अन्दर और 62 लोग पंजाब के बाहर घायल किये गये यानी कुल 418 लोग घायल किये गये । 355 घटनाएं लूटने की हुई । सात घटनाएं हुई जहां पर राष्ट्रविरोधी झण्डे फहराये गये । 16 घटनाएं बम फटने की हुई जिनमें से सात घटनाएं पंजाब के अन्दर हुई और 9 घटनाएं पंजाब के बाहर हुई । इसलिए मेरा यह आरोप है कि राष्ट्रपति शासन लगाने के बाद जो स्थिति आज पंजाब की है और बरनाला साहब जब मुख्य मंत्री थे उसके बाद वहां की स्थिति बिगड़ी है और केन्द्र शासित प्रदेश होते हुए भी वहां पर कोई भी नियन्त्रण पूरे तरीके से करने में केन्द्रीय सरकार असफल रही है । इसलिए मैं मंत्री जी से यह जानना चाहूंगा कि जब बरनाला साहब मुख्य मंत्री थे उस बीच में राष्ट्रपति शासन होने के ठीक तीन मास पूर्व वहां पर कितनी हत्याएं हुई और कितनी लूटपाट की घटनाएं हुई, कितने लोगों को वहां पर घायल किया गया । दूसरी बात मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि 24 जुलाई, 1985 को पंजाब समझौता हुआ, उसके बारे में आज मेरा फिर आरोप है कि प्रधानमंत्री जी जिस पार्टी के अध्यक्ष हैं उन्होंने उस पार्टी के स्वार्थों की पूर्ति के लिए बिना विपक्ष को विश्वास में लिये हुए चूंकि उन्होंने समझौता किया था इसलिए पंजाब में आज यह दृश्य देखना पड़ रहा है । पंजाब समझौते पर प्रधान मंत्री जी और शहीद लोंगोवाल केवल इन दो ने हस्ताक्षर किये थे और सारे देश को इस समझौते के बारे में जानकारी तब हुई जबकि यह समझौता हो चुका था । यहां तक कि अकाली पार्टी के नेता जो आज जेल में हैं, भूतपूर्व मुख्य मंत्री उन तक भी सम्पर्क नहीं किया गया, सलाह नहीं की गयी थी । लेकिन फिर भी मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि 24 जुलाई, 1985 में जब यह समझौता हुआ और उस समझौते में जो 3 या 4 खास बातें थीं जिनके क्रियान्वयन के लिए एक निश्चित तिथि उस समझौते में दी गयी थी—चूंकि पंजाब समझौते की प्रति हमारे पास नहीं है इसलिए मैं नहीं बता सकता हूं कि कौन-कौन सी तारीखें दी गयी थीं, लेकिन उसमें निश्चित रूप से इस बात का आश्वासन दिया गया था कि यदि चंडीगढ़ पंजाब को जायेगा तो उसके बदले में अबोहर और फाजिल्का हरियाणा को प्राप्त होगा । उसमें इस बात को भी लिखा गया था कि जो सतलुज यमुना लिंक नहर है वह एक तारीख—जहां तक मुझे याद पड़ता है वह 14-15 अगस्त, 1986 है—तक बनकर पूरी हो जायेगी जिससे हरियाणा को जो पानी की समस्या है उसका समाधान हो जायेगा । तीसरा चंडीगढ़ की एवज में यदि हरियाणा की राजधानी बनती है तो वह राजधानी कहां बनेगी और उसके सिलसिले में केन्द्र सरकार ने क्या यह जिम्मेदारी ली है कि जितना भी खर्च होगा, व्यय होगा उसको स्वयं केन्द्र सरकार बर्दाश्त करेगी ? मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि उसके क्रियान्वयन के संबंध में केन्द्र सरकार ने आज तक क्या कार्यवाही की है या उसको कार्यवाही

[श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय]

करने में क्या-क्या दिक्कतें आ रही हैं। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ इस विधेयक का जारदार विरोध करते हुए मैं पुन: मांग करता हूं कि पंजाब में जो विधान सभा है, निलम्बित जरूर है लेकिन विधान सभा है इसलिए पंजाब में तुरन्त जनता द्वारा चुनी हुई जनता के प्रतिनिधियों की सरकार को कायम किया जाये और राष्ट्रपति शासन को आज ही समाप्त करना चाहिए और यदि राष्ट्रपति शासन को समाप्त करने की घोषणा हो जाती है तो जो विधेयक इस सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत है उसकी कोई आवश्यकता नहीं रह जायेगी।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Yes, Mr. Basu, please take four minutes only.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Yes, Sir, I do not exceed the time given to me.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, as you know, I oppoosed the imposition of the President's rule in Punjab. That being so, this is a consequential step following from the imposition of President's rule in Punjab. Naturally, therefore, as I have opposed imposition of the President's rule in Punjab, I am opposing the Bill also.

Sir, as you know, terrorism is a phenomena which has got its genesis in various factors. Due to shortage of time, I do not want to dilate on it. Sir, Barnala's Government was brought down and the President's rule was imposed solely on the ground that his Government could not curb the terrorist activities. And I remember one of the Members of the AIADMK, Mr. John, suggested that if on this ground Barnala's Government is brought down, what will happen if under the President's rule such things continue and there is no decline of terrorist activity. I want that the Hon. Minister should answer this question now, when it is true that even under the President's rule the activity, the terrorist activity, violence, murder, loot, arson, as there was mention of certain figures, have increased and it has surpassed the number which took place during Barnala's Government. Therefore, he has to inform this House, who will dismiss whom? Can this Parliament also take some kind of action against the Government of India which has failed to contain terrorist killing, murder, etc.? On the other hand the areas of operation of terrorists have expanded. It is already mentioned and I do not want to dilate on it. Now, Governor's rule is no democratic rule. The present Government, that is, Punjab Government, under President's rule has got no living contact with the masses. There is no relation between the Government and the Governed. Therefore, if it is a political problem—I reiterate that Punjab problem is not a problem of law and order; this problem is of political nature—it should be dealt with politically. Punjab accord and installation of Barnala Government taken together was the most potent tool in working out a political solution. Unfortunately, that potent tool with which we could have worked for the political solution of a political problem in Punjab, has been broken as under, and you have no tool at the present moment to work towards a political solution. Hence, I reiterate that it was unjust; it was wrong to impose President's rule, dismissing Barnala Government and, therefore, it is now necessary to restore a popular Government in Punjab today. I feel that the Akali Party led by Mr. Barnala has got majority in the House; it has the effective strength. What, therefore, stands in the way of restoring Barnala Government in Punjab so that it may be the tool to work for the political solution of the problem in Punjab?

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Let me give the factual position. Barnala faction does not have the majority.

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : वह राज भवन में नहीं तय होगी वह असेम्बली में, विधान सभा में तय होगी ।... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री पवन कुमार बांसल : वह मुझे भी मालूम है...(**व्यवधान**) कि वह कैसे होता है और हाऊस में ही तय हुआ था चूंकि मजारटी नहीं है। ...(**व्यवधान**)

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : मैं सिखा नहीं रहा हूं, मैं तो अपनी बात कह रहा हूं ।

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Mr. Bansal, I think you are aware of the fact that the effective strength of the House there is 9 and Akali Dal led by Mr. Barnala has got 47; there are some independent members also, and all this taken together—if I am not wrong—can make a comfortable majority for Mr. Barnala in the House with an effective strength of 91. Therefore, that does not stand.

Now the last point to which I want a specific reply is, there were some suggestions made by the Government that the Government was reviewing the cases of Jodhpur detenues. It was stated by the Government that cases of Jodhpur detenues are being reviewed. May I know at what stage the review is and whether that has completed, and if not, when it is going to be completed and by when they are going to take a decision regarding those detenues in Jodhpur?

श्री दरबारा सिंह (पंजाब) : वाइस चेयरमैन, सर मैं ज्यादा बोलना भी नहीं चाहता । मैं वक्त के अन्दर ही बोलूंगा । मुझे पता है कि आप ने साढ़े तीन बजे खत्म करना है ।

मैं सिर्फ दो-तीन बातें कहना चाहता हूं । पहली तो यह है कि डेमोक्रेटिक सैट-अप सब कहत हैं कि अच्छी चीज है उसमें सब बिलीव करते हैं और उसकी ही हम पैदावार हैं सभी जो यहां बैठे हैं, लेकिन कई वक्त ऐसे आते हैं जहां कि हमें इस बात को सोचना पड़ता है कि इंतजामयां तौर पर मशीनरी कहां तक कामयाब रही है ।

यह बात मैं ज्यादा नहीं दोहराना चाहता हूं । मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि लगातार ऐसे हालात पैदा किये जा रहे थे उन लोगों से बेशक वह बरनाला हो, बेशक वह बादल हो बेशक वह कोई और हो उस पार्टी में । शिरोमणि कमेटी का कैसे इलक्शन हुआ । कौन वहां चुना गया, यह हमारे सामने मसल हैं, जो इतने शार्ट टाईम में हम बता नहीं सकते, जिसकी वजह से टैरोरिस्म जो है, वह बढ़ा है । यह कोई बाहर से नहीं आया, इन हालात ने जो अकाली पार्टी के अपने अन्दर के थे, उनकी वजह से यह चीज पैदा हुई एक जगह और दूसरी जगह ने उसको जगह दे दी । और गिव व कर दिया । बरनाला सरकार को हमने चलाया ठीक है नहीं चली । इसलिए नहीं चली कि उनके पास मैजोरिटी नहीं रही । यहां कहते हैं कि मैजोरिटी है । मैजोरिटी कहां थी ? अब भी वह बता दें कि किस तरह से मैजोरिटी है ? वहां हमने पैरलल सरकार नहीं बनने दी । पैरलल इसलिये थी कि जिनकी मदद से अन्दर बैठे हुये जो मिनिस्टर्ज थे व इस बात के लिये लगे हुये थे कि हमने किस तरह से टैररिज्म के लोगों को जो कि उनके पास आते थे, सर्विसज में अदरवाइज आलसो सब जगह पर तैयार करने के लिये कोशिश कर रहे थे और एस लोग उनके पास आते रहते थे । इसलिये यह प्रजाडेंट रूल हुआ । यह एक बहुत लंबी हिस्ट्री है, इसका मैं बयान नहीं करना चाहता । क्योंकि वहां पर ऐसे हालात पैदा किये जा रहे थे कि जिसमें हम काम नहीं कर सकते थे । यह गलत बात है कि किसी ने मुझ से इस्तीफा मांगा । इस्तीफा मैंने खुद दिया । इस बात के लिये दिया है कि मैं समझता था कि हिन्दू और सिख जिस रूप से वे निकले हैं वह सोसे एक है । वे आपस में नहीं लड़ने चाहिये और यह बात किसने पैदा की है· अकाली पार्टी ने पैदा की है । मैं तो वहां से ल सकता हूं जहां से मास्टर तारासिंह जी पोलिटिक्स में आये । उस वक्त से अब तक क्या करते रहे हैं यह मैं आपको बता सकता हूं । यह बात कहना कि उसके बाद बहुत हुये हैं मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या बहुत अच्छा राज रहा है जिसको बरनाला सरकार कहती है कि कम लोग मरे हैं और मुकाबला हमसे करके

[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

देखिये। जहां हमने सरकार दी है और वहां हटाई है। उस वक्त कितने थे और इनके वक्त में कितने मरे हैं? मैं तो समझता हूं कि सारे इंतजाम करने चाहिएं मशीनरी को तेज करना चाहिये और कंट्रोल करना चाहिये तभी उसका पोलिटिकल हल निकल सकता है। यह मैं मानता हूं और यह कहना कि हरियाणा के इलेक्शन के कारण हमने किया यह बिल्कुल गलत बात है। हरियाणा के इलैक्शन में हमने कई सरकारें हटाई हैं। अब वहां प्रेजीडेंट रूल लगा हुआ है, उसके गवर्नर और दूसरे लोग इंतजाम करने के लिये कई-कई गावों में घूम रहे हैं और देख रहे हैं कि कैसे लोगों को इकट्ठा करके उनको डिफेंस के लिये तैयार करें। मैं मानता हूं कि उनको पूरे इंतजाम सरकार को देने चाहिएं ताकि वह उनका मुकाबला कर सकें और अगर हथियारबंद भी करना पड़े तो करना चाहिये उस लैवल तक जहां कि वे मुकाबला करने के काबिल हों। यह एक चीज है। आप कहते हैं फलां सरकार को क्यों हटाया, इसलिए कि हम वहां पर पैरलल सरकार नहीं चलने देना चाहते और यह सैन्टर ने इसलिए किया है ताकि वह आगे ऐसे काम नहीं कर सके। लेकिन अभी भी बहुत टैररिजम है। हमारे लोगों को सभी पार्टीज के लोगों को मिलकर इसका मुकाबला करना चाहिए सिर्फ आलोचना करने से बात नहीं बनती। वहां फील्ड में चलिए और मुकाबला करिए प्रशासनिक और राजनीतिक स्तर पर काम करने के लिए तैयार होइए। मैं एंडोर्स करता हूं जो इन्होंने स्टैंड लिया है। धन्यवाद।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह (बिहार): माननीय उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय आपको याद है जब पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करने के लिए यहां बिल पेश हुआ था उस वक्त ही मैंने कहा था कि इस बिल का उद्देश्य दूसरा हैं और इसमें कहा जा रहा है कोई दूसरा ही। मैंने कहा था कि "कहीं पे निगाहें कहीं पे निशाना" तो आज वह बात पूरी हो गई। इन्होंने कहा कि हम कानून और व्यवस्था को लागू करने के लिए कर रहे हैं, ठीक-ठीक और हमारा दूसरा कोई लक्ष्य नहीं है, लेकिन हम लोगों ने कहा था, सारी ओपोजीशन ने कहा था, हम सब लोगों ने मिलकर कहा था कि आपका निशाना है हरियाणा का चुनाव और आप चाहते हैं कि इराडी कमीशन ने जो पानी के बंटवारे के बारे में कहा उसको शायद आप जबरदस्ती ढंग से लागू करवा सकते हैं अपने गवर्नर के जरिए जो कि आपका एजेंट है। लेकिन बरनाला साहब शायद रहेंगे तो आपको वह करने में दिक्कत है, यह आपका मुख्य लक्ष्य था और आपने बहाना बनाया कि कानून व्यवस्था समाप्त हो गयी है, खत्म हो गयी है, इसलिए हम करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन यह हुआ नहीं। वस्तुस्थिति में आज जो स्थिति सामने है, आप सब जानते हैं, इसको कहने की जरूरत नहीं हैं कि पहले से स्थिति ज्यादा भयावह हो गयी है। इनको एक वहम है कि हम जितना ज्यादा एकॉर्ड करेंगे, दुनियां में उतना हमारा नाम शांति के मसीहा के रूप में आएगा। यह लंका में गए, एकॉर्ड करके आए। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जिस तरह से आपका यह एकॉर्ड फेल हो गया... (**व्यवधान**)...

श्री भजन लाल: गवर्नर को इन्होंने एजेण्ट कहा है, इसे कार्यवाही से निकालना चाहिए।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: क्यों कार्यवाही से निकालेंगे।

श्री भजन लाल: गवर्नर को एजेण्ट कहना मुनासिब बात है क्या?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): If those words are there and if it is not appropriate, it should be expunged.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: यह राज्यपाल केन्द्रीय सरकार का एक एजेण्ट है। क्यों नहीं है?

श्री भजन लाल: एजेण्ट क्यों, नुमाइंदा कह सकते हैं आप।

श्री पवन कुमार बांसल: एजेण्ट और नुमाइंदा में बहुत फर्क होता हैं। जिस तरीके से यह शब्द इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं, वह गलत है।... (**व्यवधान**)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Don't use such words. It is no use. They are not agents. Now please conclude. Those words will be expunged if it is not appropriate.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : वस्तुस्थिति में महोदय यही है। भारत सरकार की ओर से सारा काम करता है नियुक्ति भी भारत सरकार की ओर से होती है, उसके एजेण्ट के रूप में काम करता है, यह तो साफ है। . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . .

श्री हरवेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल (पंजाब) : अब कह रहे हैं कि गवर्नर सरकार का एजेन्ट है पहले यह कहा था कि आपका एजेण्ट है, आपका कहने से मतलब कुछ और निकलता है। वह भी नहीं कह सकते आप। शब्दों का अन्तर तो समझिये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) : आप कनकल्यूड कीजिए।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूं। महोदय सच्ची बात कहना मुझे लगता है जनतंत्र में बहुत गुनाह हो जाता है, हम यहां सच भी नहीं बोल सकते। मैं इतना कह दूं एजेण्ट नहीं है, आपका भारत सरकार का नियुक्त नुमाइंदा है, जो आपकी हुकूमत में काम करता है, आपकी ओर से काम करता है, उसको आप जो कह लीजिए, एजेण्ट कह लीजिए या कुछ और कह लीजिए।

महोदय मैं यही कह रहा हूं कि इनको एक वहम है कि हम जल्दी-जल्दी एकॉर्ड करेंगे, एग्रीमेण्ट करेंगे, समझौता करेंगे, अभी यह दौड़ते-दौड़ते चले गए श्रीलंका में समझौता करने और वहां से करके आए हैं। हमको लगता है कि यह भी उसी तरह फेल करेंगा जैसे इनको हरियाणा में मूल्य चुकाना पड़ा उस एकॉर्ड का, उसी तरह से श्रीलंका के एकॉर्ड का अगली बार इनको मूल्य चुकाना पड़ेगा तमिलनाडु में। तमिलनाडु की जनता जैसे हरियाणा की जनता ने इन्हें बताया, वैसे अब यह बताएगी। महोदय, मैं इस बिल का सिवाय जोरदार विरोध करता हूं और मैं चाहता हूं कि पंजाब की असेम्बली को फंकशन को लाया जाय, उसको पुनर्जीवित किया जाये और उसको जीवित करके उसके द्वारा ही यह कानून पास कराया जाये, इसे संसद् से पास कराने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है।

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this Bill is a consequence of the proclamation of President's rule in Punjab. The proclamation itself was extensively debated in this House on the 12th of May and we had answered the criticism against the proclamation of President's rule. I do not wish to recall the event which led to the President's rule, but many honourable Members have tried to paint a picture that the Government of Shri Barnala was in command and it was wrong to have dismissed that Government.

Sir, we faced such criticism several times. In September, 1985 when we called elections in Punjab, barely two months after the Accord, we were criticized for calling an election. In December, 1985 when the Akali Party split and the Barnala Government was on the verge of collapse, and it was only because the Congress Party extended support it could survive, we were criticized for extending support. And when the Barnala Government disintegrated because of dissension, internal conflict and grave inconsistencies and it lost the will to fight terrorism and when there was no way to save Punjab except by imposing President's rule, we were criticized for imposing President's rule. Barring the BJP—whose support I acknowledged on the 12th of May, we were criticized for imposing President's rule. A ruling party has to bear this criticism. You are criticized if you call elections, you are ciriticized if you support a collapsing Government, and you are criticized if you dismiss Government which has disintegrated.

Sir, the disintegration of the Barnala Government started on the 26th

[Shri P. Chidambaram]

of January, 1987 when a *Sarbat Khalsa* called by the Dam Dami Taksal, the Panthic Committee and the AISSF declared and endorsed the resolution of 29th April, 1986 that Khalistan was the goal. On the 3rd of February, 1987 the Akal Takht called upon all Ministers to resign. On the 5th of February, 1987 they held Shri Barnala guilty. On the 14th of February, 1987 five Ministers of the Barnala Government extended their support to the Akal Takht chief. Between 14th and 16th March, 1987 there was a *Holla Mohalla* in which various resolutions were passed, which went against the Constitution, went against the unity and integrity of the country. In these circumstances, finding that the Barnala Government had lost its will to fight terrorism, lost its will to protect the unity and integrity of India, we had to take the painful step of imposing President's rule.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: What about 28th of February?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Let him reply.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir in the last three months, several things have happened in Punjab. I am not denying that terrorism still continues. It is quite intense. Between the period 1st October, 1985 and up to 11th of May, there were 3,294 incidents and 816 people were killed. Between the period 12th May and 20th of July, 212 people were killed; but this includes two incidents in Lalru and Hissar where 74 people were killed. We must ask ourselves why these incidents happened. These incidents happened because the Government of Punjab successfully prevented the holding of a *Sarbat Khalsa* or a Panthic convention on the 26th of June. Everytime the Government of Punjab comes down heavily upon a terrorist activity or a terrorist-inspired convention or an attempt to further vitiate the atmosphere in Punjab, the terrorists regroup and strike. If these two incidents are treated as extremely grave but rare incidents—and I am not minimizing for a moment the gravity of those incidents—I dare say that in the last three months the Punjab Government has been able to mount relentless pressure upon the terrorists. I have said in this House, I have said in the other House that it is because of the relentless pressure mounted upon terrorists that the neighbouring States are under pressure. And I have said this, Delhi faces the severest pressure. If we did nothing in Punjab, if the Punjab police did not act, if they did not mount offensive actions, if they did not raid, if they did not go out and get more information, if they were not motivated to carry on a campaign against terrorism, nothing will happen in the neighbouring States. May be nothing will happen in Delhi or perhaps something will happen in Delhi. But because of the relentless pressure mounted in the last three months, the terrorists are regrouping to fight back, and this fight-back will be reflected in the neighbouring States, will be reflected in Delhi. If you tell us, "Yes, gear up your machinery in the neighbouring States," I accept that with humility I accept that criticism. Please don't criticise us by saying that nothing is being done in Punjab. Seventy three policemen were killed during the rule of Shri Barnala. Motivation was very low. The Punjab police refused to act most of the time. In the last three months, much to our regret, 19 policemen have laid down their lives fighting terrorism. I think, we must pay our homage to these brave policemen who are willing to fight the terrorists today.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): How much time will you take?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I will take another three minutes with the permission of the House. Please bear with me.

Between October and 11th of May, 130 extremists were killed in Punjab. In the last three months, we have

killed an identical number; 130 terrorists have been killed. Sir, 2,784 extremists were arrested during Shri Barnala Government's time. In the last three months, 1,116 extremists have been arrested.

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH: How many persons were killed?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I have given the figures. I earlier gave the figures. You forgot to note them.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri H. Hanumanthappa) in the Chair.]

Sir, the point is, we are fighting. Fighting terrorism is not for the faint-hearted, fighting terrorism is for the brave and resolute. And this is what the Governor is doing, and this is what Shri Ribeiro is doing. I think, the House owes a duty to the country to support this. However, we must certainly take political initiatives. And I am not for a moment trying to say that we need not take poltical initiatives. I am not for a moment saying that only the policemen can bring about peace in Punjab.

Earlier we attempted to forge peace. We attempted to forge an accord. We attempted to implement the accord. We attempted talks. We gave a chance to a popular Government. And yet, perhaps because the Government of the day was not resolute enough to fight terrorism, our attempts to win peace also failed. You have to weigh this in the balance. Can you wage peace? Can you win peace without fighting the terrorists? Is not the primary duty to fight terrorists, but at the same time open avenues to talk to people who are willing to come back to the path of peace and sanity?

Many hon. Members have spoken. Mr. John and several other hon. Members have spoken. I am afraid they do not understand the dimensions of terrorism in Punjab. Not that I claim to know everything about it. But, still, please try to understand the dimensions of terrorism today. Shri Barnala's party, after the imposition of President's rule, tried to win the support of the people. They rejected the Eradi Commission's Report. They condemned fake encounters. They started padyatra. But the people did not respond to them.

Prof. Darshan Singh Ragi emerged as a leader in February, 1987. He tried to have a convention of the Unified Akali Dal on 28th June, 1987. They could not even agree upon the venue of the convention. A dramatic turn has taken place in Punjab. The dimentions of terrorism have increased considerably because of the help that is coming in from foreign countries. I am not only referring to a country which has a common border with us. There are countries which are far away, from which money comes, from which weapons come, from which advice comes.

You must try to understand the implications of the resolution passed on the 4th of August. What is Shri Barnala's response? I ask hon. Members very sincerely. Shri Barnala's response is to interpret the resolution as a vindication of the political programme of his party. A touching faith in a political programme. What a superficial, simplistic analysis. The resolution of August 4, is a dangerous resolution. It misquotes Jawaharlal Nehru and says:

> "The objective is to achieve an area in the north of India and a political structure in which the Sikhs could experience the glow of freedom."

What a distortion of what Jawaharlal Nehru meant! (*Interruptions*) These are dangerous dimensions. General Aurora, please don't endorse what the 4th August convention did.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: I endorse it. Please quote exactly what Jawaharlal Nehru has said.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: The context is different. The words are the same but the context is different. This resolution has been interpreted by the Gurjit Singh faction, this resolution has been interpreted by the Panthic Committee as a resolution which endorses the demand of the Sarbat Khalsa for Khalistan, whereas your leader calls it as a vindication of his political programme... (*Interruptions*).

SARDAR JAGJIT SNGH AURORA: No. All the factions are against it.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Except Mr. Barnala. Mr. Barnala welcomed this resolution as a vindication of his political programme.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: That is why Prof. Darshan had to leave that place... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Prof. Darshan Singh has, in exasperation, in utter despair, withdrawn from the scene. The Unified Akali Dal has withdrawn from the scene. The point today is everyone who claims to be a moderate, everyone who claims to be fighting terrorism, is abandoning the scene to these hot-headed militants, hot-headed terrorists. This is no time to restore popular rule. We must explore political avenues. We must try new initiatives.

I do not think we should look at the last three months only as an issue of law and order. What has President's rule done? The social reform campaign which was launched by the militants between March and May collapsed after President's rule. Our hon. Members Shri Vajpayeeji as well as Gen. Aurora have acknowledged this. This is a point on which President's rule has succeeded.

The State's annual plans for the years 1986-87 and 1987-88 have been kept at a higher level of Rs. 571 crores and Rs. 630 crores respectively with special Central loan assistance of Rs. 308 crores in 1986-87 and Rs. 292 crores in 1987-88. Government took a decision to locate an Integral Coach Factory costing Rs. 294 crores at Kapurthala. Work is progressing according to the schedule and we expect it to go into production in March, 1988. To provide relief to farmers whose crops have been damaged due to untimely rains, the Punjab Government has distributed a sum of Rs. 91 crores to the affected farmers and all payments have been made under cheque to avoid any leakage. A crash programme for repair and improvement of rural roads has recently been initiated to provide employment and also ensure that roads are properly maintained. The cost of the programme is Rs. 25 crores and will involve repair and improvement of 4,500 kilometres. The Punjab Government has decided that each private school will have a regular building where such building is not existing at present. Government have decided to construct residential buildings for doctors and para medical staff as this facility would help in technical staff going into the villages. Farmers have been assured 12 hours' uninterrupted supply of power for irrigation. This has been done by cutting power supply to mini steel plants and other industrial units. One 210 MW unit in Ropar under construction will be commissioned in March, 1988 and another 210 MW at Ropar will be commissioned in September, 1988.

In the last three months while fighting terrorism, the Punjab Government has indeed brought in a lot of development, has brought in a certain amount of normalcy in administration, has enthused the police, has enthused the civil administration. While I acknowledge the point made by hon. Members that we must explore political methods and political avenues to find a settlement,

we cannot withdraw from this relentless fight against terrorism and the best assurance for that is the continuation of President's rule until the situation returns to a point where we can restore popular Government. It is wrong and it is pathetic to believe that there is an upsurge for popular Government headed by any one from the Shiromani Akali Dal party. In fact, what is popular about them? There is nothing which is popular about them. In fact, it is doubtful if they command a majority in the State Legislature if we exclude the disqualified Members. The only way that Government survived between December, 1985 and May, 1987 was because of the Congress party which supported that Government, and once we withdrew our support, once we took a political decision that we will be failing the people of this country if we support a Government which was collapsing, disintegrating, dissolving because of its own inconsistencies, the decision to impose President's Rule was inevitable. Sir, I must humbly seek the support of this House to this Bill to confer legislative powers upon the President during President's Rule.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Now the question is:

"That the Bill to confer on the President the power of the Legislature of the State of Punjab to make laws, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): We shall now take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be passed."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSIONS RE: INDO-SRI LANKAN AGREEMENT

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): The House will take up Short Duration Discussion on the statement made by the Prime Minister in the House on the 31st July, 1987, regarding the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement to establish peace and normalcy in Sri Lanka.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very happy that our hon. Prime Minister returned safely unhurt, when the Sri Lankan sailor attacked him during the guard of honour. But, Sir, what was the immediate reaction of the head of the Sri Lankan Government, Mr. Jayewardene that appeared in the press? He said, due to sun stroke, the sailor fainted and fell on the Prime Minister. That was the reaction. That shows the inner mind of Mr. Jayewardene. Our Hon'ble Prime Minister described this Accord as unprecedented in the 20th century. Yes, I concur with him. It is an unprecedented Accord because this is an Accord between the mediator and the aggressor. It is not an Accord between the aggressor and the aggressed. It is not an Accord between the oppressor and the oppressed. It is not an Accord between the mediator and the aggressor. I am shocked to know that the militants were not taken into confidence and they did not give their consent to the Accord. So,